

Message Text

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PAGE 01 NICOSI 01963 01 OF 02 190736Z

16

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ISO-00 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-19 EB-11 COA-02

COME-00 DRC-01 INT-08 /164 W
----- 001167

R 190642Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7797

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USDOCOSOUTH

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1963

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, CY

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS REPLIES TO LATEST GRIVAS STATEMENT

REF: NICOSIA 1951; FBIS M171924Z

SUMMARY: MAKARIOS REPLIES TO GRIVAS BY PUBLISHING 1966
PARIS PROTOCOL. PROTOCOL INDICATES SOME GREEK-TURKISH
DISCUSSION OF ENOSIS IN EXCHANGE TURKISH ACQUISITION OF
DHEKELIA SBA. MAKARIOS REPLY AVOIDS ANY MENTION HIS
OPPOSITION THIS PROPOSAL; OFFERS PROVIDE MINUTES 1967 CROWN
COUNCIL MEETING TO GRIVAS. HICOMM RELAXES OVER DOCUMENTS
IMBROGLIO. TURKS SUSPICIOUS OVER POSSIBLE ATHENS-NICOSIA PLOT.
NEITHER MAKARIOS OR GRIVAS HAS YET WON DEBATE AND WE EXPECT
EXCHANGE TO CONTINUE. END SUMMARY

1. LATE SEPT 17 ARCHBISHOP REPLIED TO GRIVAS' SEPT 16
DECLARATION BY PUBLISHING FULL TEXT OF DEC 17, 1966 GOG-GOT
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PAGE 02 NICOSI 01963 01 OF 02 190736Z

PARIS PROTOCOL (FBIS REF). ACCORDING PROTOCOL ACCOUNT

OF MEETING, TURK FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL INSISTED ON EITHER CONTINUED INDEPENDENCE OR GOT-GOG CONDOMINIUM FOR CYPRUS; GREEK FONMIN TOUMBAS COUNTERED WITH GOG INSISTENCE ON "A FORM OF UNION BETWEEN GREECE AND CYPRUS." ASCERTAINING THEIR INABILITY AGREE AT PARIS MEETING ON FUTURE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF CYPRUS, AND CONCURRING THAT AGREEMENT ON "INGREDIENTS" OF POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO OVERALL GOG-GOT RELATIONS WOULD HELP EFFORTS THEIR TWO GOVERNMENTS FIND SOLUTION, TWO MINISTERS ESTABLISHED FIVE POINTS: (1) TOUMBAS SAID SBA DHEKELIA "WOULD BE AVAILABLE" IN EVENT GREEK-TURKISH AGREEMENT; (2) BOTH AGREED DHEKELIA WOULD BE USED TO SAFEGUARD TURKEY'S MILITARY SECURITY; CAGLAYANGIL SAID GOT WOULD ONLY CONSIDER AS ACCEPTABLE A TRANSFER OF FULL DHEKELIA SOVEREIGNTY TO IT; PLEADING LACK OF INSTRUCTIONS, TOUMBAS REFERRED MATTER TO ATHENS AND PROMISED QUICK REPLY; (3) TURK CYPRIOTS TO HAVE RIGHT PARTICIPATE IN ISLAND'S ADMINISTRATION, WITH SPECIAL ADMINISTRATIVE AND MUNICIPAL STATUS UNDER "FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN AREAS WHERE THEY CONSTITUTE GREAT MAJORITY"; GOG AND GOT EXPERTS WOULD WORK OUT DETAILS OF TURK CYPRIOT STATUS; (4) EXPERTS WOULD ALSO CONSIDER PACIFICATION AND EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT OF ISLAND; AND (5) IN CASE OF AGREEMENT, GOG AND GOT WILLING NEGOTIATE TREATY OF ALLIANCE PLUS ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, TOURISM, AND FISHING AGREEMENTS.

2. IN SAME STATEMENT, ARCHBISHOP ACCUSED GRIVAS OF CHILDISH NAIVETE IN SPEAKING OF SERIOUS MATTERS; CLEVERLY OFFERED TO PROVIDE GRIVAS WITH MINUTES OF FEB 1967 CROWN COUNCIL MEETING SO GENERAL COULD AVOID FUTURE "IRRESPONSIBLE STATEMENTS". IN PREFATORY COMMENT, ARCHBISHOP ALSO REITERATED EARLIER OFFER TO PROVIDE GRIVAS WITH ALL MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA FOR WAGING OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE, IF GENERAL WOULD FORESAKE VIOLENCE AND DISBAND HIS ARMED GROUPS.

3. MEANWHILE, LOCAL PRESS REPORTS TODAY THAT FORMER GOG PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS IN PARIS REFUSED COMMENT ON GRIVAS DOCUMENT. ALSO, IN CONTRAST TO YESTERDAY'S "THARROS" ARTICLE, ADMIRAL TOUMBAS QUOTED TODAY AS SAYING ONLY THAT ENOSIS WAS GOAL "FROM GREEK SIDE" OF 1966 TALKS.

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PAGE 03 NICOSI 01963 01 OF 02 190736Z

4. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION SEPT 17, GREEK AMBASSADOR LAGACOS NOTED THAT IN DEC 1966 MEETING TURKS DID NOT PROPOSE THAT SOVEREIGNTY OVER DHEKELIA BE TRANSFERRED TO THEM BUT RATHER ASKED QUESTION WHICH TOUMBAS UNABLE TO ANSWER; FALL OF STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT LATER THAT MONTH ENDED EXCHANGE. LAGACOS MADE POINT (WHICH MAKARIOS ARTFULLY GLOSSED OVER IN HIS REPLY) THAT MAKARIOS HAD OBJECTED TO ANY GREEK PROPOSAL INVOLVING ENOSIS IN EXCHANGE FOR TURK SOVEREIGNTY OVER DHEKELIA.

LAGACOS WAFFLED WHEN ASKED WHETHER MAKARIOS' OBJECTION WAS STATED AT CROWN COUNCIL MEETING, FEB 1967, BUT SEEMED TO IMPLY IT WAS TRANSMITTED EARLIER.

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PAGE 01 NICOSI 01963 02 OF 02 190722Z

16

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USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1963

5. UK HICOMM HAS SO FAR RECEIVED NO PRESS QUERIES RE GRIVAS ALLEGATION OF OFFER FROM PM WILSON AND TOUMBAS REFERENCE IN PROTOCOL TO AVAILABILITY OF DHEKELIA SBA. IF QUERIED, HICOMM PLANS NOTE THAT SUCH STORIES CONCERN ESSENTIALLY "HISTORICAL" MATTERS, WHILE REFUSING DISCUSS SUBSTANCE PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS. IF PRESSED, HICOMM INTENDS REITERATE THAT APPENDIX P OF TREATY OF ESTABLISHMENT STILL IN FORCE: I.E., THAT HMG DOES NOT INTEND RELINQUISH "SOVEREIGNTY OR EFFECTIVE CONTROL" OVER SBA'S. HICOMM ALSO NOTED THAT PAST PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY MAKARIOS THAT THERE HAD BEEN TALK DURING 1966/1967 RE TRANSFER OF DHEKELIA TO TURKEY IN EXCHANGE GOT AGREEMENT FOR ENOSIS WOULD HELP HICOMM HANDLE ANY PRESS INTEREST. (HICOMM ALSO CONFIRMED MAKARIOS' PRIVATE REJECTION PROPOSAL.)

6. SO FAR TURK CYPRIOTS HAVE NOT REACTED TO LATEST ROUND OF GRIVAS-MAKARIOS PUBLIC DISPUTE. HOWEVER, TURK AMB INHAN TOLD AMBASSADOR SEPT 18 THAT GOT WOULD NOT HAVE ACCEPTED
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 NICOSI 01963 02 OF 02 190722Z

DHEKELIA-ENOSIS OFFER IN 1966, NOR WOULD IT ACCEPT ANY SUCH PROPOSAL NOW. INHAN WAS EXTREMELY IRRITATED OVER PUBLICATION THIS SENSITIVE DOCUMENT, APPARENTLY WITH ATHENS' APPROVAL, AND EXPRESSED STRONG SUSPICION THAT GREEKS AND GREEK CYPRIOTS PLOTTING SOMETHING DETRIMENTAL TURKISH INTERESTS.

7. COMMENT: APPEARS TO US THAT GRIVAS MAY HAVE BEGUN PUBLIC DEBATE WHICH MAKARIOS SO FAR HAS NOT COMPLETELY WON, OR SHUT OFF. PROTOCOL AS QUOTED DOES NOT REALLY SUPPORT GRIVAS CONTENTION THAT TWO FONMINS HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO TALK ON BASIS OF ENOSIS, BUT IT CLEAR FROM LISTING OF "INGREDIENTS" THAT THEY HAD DISCUSSED SOME CHANGE IN STATUS OF "ISLAND" (PROTOCOL MAKES NO REFERENCE TO CYPRUS AS REPUBLIC), PRESUMABLY A LIMITED ENOSIS IN EXCHANGE FOR TRANSFER OF DHEKELIA TO TURKEY WITH SOME DEGREE OF AUTONOMY FOR TURK CYPRIOTS. HOWEVER, PROTOCOL DOES NOT GIVE CLEAR PICTURE OF STATUS OF "INGREDIENTS"--I.E., WHETHER THEY COMPRISE EXHAUSTIVE LISTING OR WHETHER THEY WERE EVEN ACCEPTED BY ANKARA AND ATHENS.

8. MOREOVER, ARCHBISHOP'S REPLY NOTEWORTHY FOR TWO MAJOR OMISSIONS: (1) IT CAREFULLY AVOIDS ANY DISCUSSION HIS ROLE DURING PERIOD IN QUESTION, SPECIFICALLY GRIVAS' CHARGE THAT MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES TOGETHER HAD WORKED AGAINST ENOSIS; (2) IT MAKES NO REFERENCE TO GRIVAS' COMMENT RE LETTER FROM PM WILSON OFFERING "CERTAIN CONCESSIONS" IN ORDER FACILITATE GOG-GOT UNDERSTANDING ON CYPRUS. WE DOUBT THAT GRIVAS HAS SEEN TEXT OF ALL RELEVANT DOCUMENTS BUT HE DOES APPEAR FAIRLY WELL-INFORMED. IF HICOMM AND LAGACOS COMMENT CORRECT, CONTINUATION OF THIS EXCHANGE MAY MAKE MAKARIOS APPEAR AS OPPONENT OF ENOSIS TACK WHICH STEPHANOPOLOUS GOVT HAD BEEN PURSUING. MAKARIOS COULD THUS SUFFER SOME LOCAL DISCREDIT FOR UNWILLINGNESS SWAP TURKISH FOR BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY OVER DHEKELIA AS PRICE FOR ENOSIS OF REST OF CYPRUS (EXCEPT, OF COURSE, THE OTHER SBA) WITH GREECE; GRIVAS CONVERSELY COULD GAIN SOME CREDIT IN HIS CHARGE THAT ARCHBISHOP HAD BEEN PRIVATELY SABOTAGING ENOSIST CAMPAIGN.
END COMMENT.
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